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practicable thing to offer them such a new world partnership that they will only be too eager and glad to come in.

There is an old fable which is always new, the story of the traveler and his cloak and the sun and the wind. The wind laughed and said, "See me take that man's cloak off," and he blew hard and whistled sharply, and the man wrapped his cloak about him as closely as he could. The sun smiled and said, "See me do it," and before he had done smiling the man had the cloak over his arm.

The nations desire nothing better than to throw away their armies and get rid of them. They are the most burdensome cloak that a people has ever had. But as long as we are in a world of imperialisms we shall all cling to them. It is only when we enter upon another plane that we shall find our armies a vast and unnecessary expense and a vast and hideous moral shame.

The time is to come somehow, sometime, when the ruling type of our civilization will be a coöperative world order in which the element of coercion will be shrinking more and more and in which the element of free, spontaneous, joyful fellowship will be ever greater and greater.

PEACE WITHOUT FORCE

BY S. N. PATTEN,

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The program outlined by the President in his address before the Senate on January 22 seems to be a break in national traditions. In reality, however, there has been no break, but a fulfillment. What Washington said, what Monroe said, what Lincoln said, is said again by President Wilson more clearly and more in harmony with the actual trend of events. The thought of the fathers should be perpetuated but we should not be slaves to its formal expression. What they wanted we want, but new conditions force us to adopt an attitude in harmony with the closer relations in which the world now stands. Berlin and London are not so far from us now as Charleston and Boston were from Philadelphia a century ago. If we needed state unity then we need world unity now to attain the ends for which our constitution was formed. Carried along by

international forces, we have become aware of cosmic emotions but we dread the changes involved and fear to trust ourselves in untried waters. The transition has been made more difficult by the presence among us of false prophets who, under the pretense of an advance, would in reality drag us back into a preceding epoch from which we have fortunately emerged. Today these reactionaries are thinking of fighting, of coercion, of elimination, of peace with victory and other slogans which make the shuddering citizen thankful for the protection which wide seas afford. If the world is a seething turmoil, the more our isolation the better.

Beside these would-be warriors who would drag us into partisan struggles there is a group more modest, more peaceful and yet I believe a greater cause of the present confusion of thought than the advocates of war. The League to Enforce Peace seems an organization to promote harmony and doubtless this is the earnest wish of the promoters. But the average citizen thinks of the difficulty it would create. If we are to have an "enforced peace" America must enforce it. Who can tell what millions of men and billions of money will be needed to impress our standards on the world? All conquering races have worn themselves out in vain endeavors to enforce peace. Why should we try anew to do what other races have failed to do? Never was the world larger or more diverse than today and is not diversity more important than unity?

I do not mean to argue the issues involved. At bottom I agree with the doubting citizen rather than with our new group of social philosophers. If we are to convert the world to our view I prefer to send missionaries rather than soldiers. If ideas cannot cement the world even the hugest armaments will fail. Guns may bring victory but they never bring peace. An armed peace is only an interlude between wars. Enforced law is hated law. Peace without victory abides through the spirit of brotherhood it engenders.

The advocates of peace with victory and peace without victory differ in their concept of human nature and of the motives that control men's actions. Doctrines about enforced peace take their rise from the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. He regarded the passion for war as a fundamental human trait. In a natural state each man is at war with every other man. Security comes from the suppression of the natural instincts. The king, some ruling caste, some delegated body, must make decisions and enforce them against

the natural inclinations of the unruly masses. Peace thus means submission, not choice. This philosophical view is buttressed by the doctrine of depravity that for ages dominated the theological world. It is firmly held by those who believe in an aristocracy or a cultured class to control the discordant tendencies of the public. Only by hardship and discipline can the waywardness of men be kept under control. When these fail as a basis of coercion there is the theory of backward races to invite aggression and to excuse the dominant races when they impose their will on subject races. All these views are the expression of the same philosophy and carry with them the same need of "enforced law." Is it any wonder that the American people should hesitate to enter a league of enforced peace if the mass of the people beyond their borders have the natural inclinations of the savage and can be kept in subjection only by the impressment of superior force? It may be a very moral task to hold a world in subjection, but the history of many failures of imperialistic ventures shows that enforced peace is a waste of blood and treasure. Why is not isolation better than domination if the hearts of men are as black as has been pictured? Is it not better to be in a happy oasis than to be engulfed in an eternity of strife and brutality?

I see no satisfactory answer to these questions except in another view of human nature. Is Hobbes right that war is in our souls and that peace comes from without or does peace dwell within us while war, crime and vice are externalities imposed on men by the crippling power of supermen? Are the defects that make for war in men or in social institutions? Only as we discover what is external and thus imposed and what is internal and thus self-evoking can we know what plan to follow when we seek to improve either men or the conditions under which they live. To reach a higher state we must alter conditions if men are naturally good. We must alter men if they are by heredity bad. The two alternatives have little in common. Our institutions and behavior must conform to one ideal or the other and as we decide will we seek war or peace; will we rely on brotherhood or force.

It would take a book to discuss these problems but it should not take many pages to determine what behavior is called for by each plan. Either men love badness or are unwillingly bad. Government is coöperative good will or an inhibiting force just as war and

strife, vice and crime are within or without. Either man is a brute vainly striving to rise or he is a rational being depressed by overpowering circumstances. If men are pure they need not the enforcement of peace but the displacement of external causes of conflict. Every depressing factor we remove makes a more normal man, a better adjustment, less friction and stronger bonds of brotherhood. Our problem is therefore to search for the disturbing factors that depress and through their removal secure the peace which by nature men crave. War is an acquired attitude; peace and sympathy are the natural expression of our emotions.

The external factors making for war come under three heads: repression, restriction and exploitation. The principal repressions are due to race, religion and language. Restrictions lie mainly in the sphere of economics and are designed to give some region or class a greater superiority of income and welfare than nature would give them. There is a long bitter history of these repressions and of the evils that flow from them. No nation or class is free from attempts to gain economic advantage at the expense of its neighbors nor is there any group who have not felt the force of imposed restrictions and resented the resulting evils. No nation is a unit of equal men. The few dominate at home as the more brutal dominate the world at large. With such a commingling of evils and misunderstandings is it a wonder that war becomes the expected state and that peace seems to be the dream of enthusiasts?

Repression and exploitation not only take from the injured the objective equality on which their happiness depends, but they lead to psychic degeneration. The loser in position also loses in character. All virtues are dependent partly on objective conditions and fade with depressions. Even the physical traits are weakened or disappear. And to these we must add disease, poverty, filth and starvation as causes of still other abnormalities than the original repressions create. It is not difficult, therefore, to account for the race and class antagonisms nor for the abnormality and degeneration that accompany them. What the spirit wills, objective evils prevent. Visions of beauty are transformed into the dross of the street; truth keeps us counting our woes instead of seeing the firm basis on which progress rests.

Our evils are not in a depraved human nature but in defective political institutions. The individual is protected against state

aggression; the people against the king, but there is no protection of the masses against the ruling class. We think of ourselves as a democracy and yet our traditions keep the masses from an immediate control of their destinies. Should we go to war today,¹ the decision will be made by people elected on other issues and not by popular assent. I find no fault with our President, but can we call ourselves a democracy when one man may plunge us into a war whose evils may weigh on us for a hundred years? If this be true of us, what can be said of Europe where millions of lives and billions of property have been sacrificed to the whim of the ruling class? No government asked its people if they wished to fight: nor has a single national election occurred since the outbreak of the war to test popular sentiment. Not only is the war carried on without popular approval, but the conditions of peace will be determined and the distant future fixed before the people have an opportunity to express themselves. It is this distrust of democratic decisions that creates the barriers preventing world harmony. What evil from democracy could equal the failure of each ruling class to reflect the welfare of their own nation? We assumed an aristocracy would at least protect the interests of property but where has a mob shown itself so ruthless in its destruction? We have thought that the educated class would prove a barrier to passion only to find that the higher up we go the more vigorously has the flare of emotion expressed itself. Passion today comes not from the street but from the newspaper; its readers are not the despised mob but the arrogant rich and the reactionary bigot. If we want peace it is not human nature we must alter: nor is it mob rule we should fear. It is our tradition and antiquated class opinion that must be revised. We have changed the rule of the lawyer for the rule of the editor, the spoken word for the printed word, only to find that the passion of the reader exceeds that of the assembly. A demagogue as speaker can at most reach a few thousand hearers while an emotional editor can make a nation insane.

We do not reach the heart of the situation, however, until we realize that protection lies not in written constitutions and binding traditions but in clear ideas. We see today through yesterday's glasses and not in its own light. We might as well expect that the ideals of the Middle Ages would suffice to build a modern state as to assume that the ideals of the last two centuries suffice to create a

¹ This article was written prior to the declaration of war.

present solution. Our great need is a self-enforcing peace—a group of principles that will work as successfully in world affairs as our constitution works in our internal affairs. We do not keep armies to maintain internal peace. It is not force but principle that keeps the Texan from destructive adventures. If he can be restrained by ideals that have no objective embodiment why cannot the same become true of Germany or Japan? What are these self-enforcing principles?

How can we build a supernational code that will be accepted as the moral code is accepted—a code that appeals to self-evident principles as does the Declaration of Independence. It will thus be the code of the school, the church and the press and be as unquestioned as is the multiplication table? The violations will thus become like theft or murder, the sporadic outbursts of individuals suffering from some abnormality. Where they happen we must educate, not punish. If we treat the violators of the super code as wronged and right the wrong before we strive to punish fewer violations of this code would happen than of the civil law. It is the failure to see how great principles would work in practice that creates the present confusion and thus makes for race antagonisms.

1. The first principle of a code of peace is that all decisions should be made by popular vote. The western world claim to be democratic and yet in no nation is democracy trusted. The result is that we have arbitrary decisions made by a class and often by a single person that the people are forced to carry out against their inclinations. Should declarations of war be delayed until ratified by popular vote they would not occur. Popular decisions appeal to human nature and it is the same the world over. It is class decisions that differ and these we must avoid by taking from every class its power to override popular decision.

2. The second principle is equally important. Home rule must accompany popular suffrage to prevent national majorities from oppressing minorities. The antagonisms of race, culture, religion and language could thus be avoided and at the same time the peculiar exigencies of localities would be provided for.

3. The third principle is the freedom of the seas. The ocean is a common heritage that should be in the control of no nation or group. This freedom must be so limited as to enable every nation

to protect its own shores. The recognized three mile limit will not enable this to be done. The controlled zone should be one hundred miles rather than three. Whatever the limit agreed upon, it alone should be the recognized area for warfare either offensive or defensive. If England extends her blockade of Germany one hundred miles from the German coast Germany should be allowed an equal area about England to establish her submarine blockade, and we should claim the same zone for our coast defense. But other parts of the ocean should be open to all on equal terms.

4. The fourth principle is that no nation should be allowed to enact export taxes on raw material. The natural advantages are so unequally distributed that a virtual slavery can be maintained if some world necessity were controlled by one nation or if a group of nations should conspire to control world commerce. Manufactured goods do not come in this class as they can be made anywhere with slight differences in cost.

5. The fifth principle demands a fair distribution of tropical areas among commercial nations. All nations need a tropical region to complement their home trade. Perhaps a third of foreign trade will be of this class. But there is ten times the quantity of tropical land to meet this condition. Cuba could supply the sugar of the world and either Java or Brazil its coffee and spices. Nations now monopolize land they will never use. When land hunger ceases a potent cause of war will be removed.

In regard to these canons of a super code, two questions arise. Would they, if adopted, suffice to uphold world peace and what means have we to encourage their adoption? It must be admitted that sporadic violations of the international code will occur just as lynching takes place within our country. It can, however, be questioned whether these violations would be of grave enough a character to necessitate intervention. All Americans recognize that lynching is a serious evil but most of them also think that the evils of lynching are less than the evils its suppression would impose. Not only would a standing army be necessary, but all our institutions would have to be altered to make such coercion possible. The League to Enforce Peace would find itself in the same position that the suppression of lynching would impose. Without it we should have some local disorder but with it would come a coercion involving far greater evils. Most disorder could be avoided by

the full application of the principle of home rule. What remains better be ignored than suppressed. The evolution of cordial relations may be a slow process but it is the only cure of local antagonism.

The world acceptance of any view can come in one of two ways—progress by influence and progress by struggle. We have had many attempts to bring world unity by force: all of them have failed. America is a great nation, but it is far from that supremacy that would ensure world domination. Should we strive to dictate we merely follow the example of other world empires, waste our resources in useless wars and then sink to the economic impotence that has been the fate of nations greedy for power. No nation can rule, no group of dogmas fit the whole world. Peace must come through the recognition of difference and through the growth of the spirit of toleration. This means progress by influence and example and not by struggle. The world needs not a dictator but some nation that lives up to the super standard and thus shows the possibility of a peaceful progress. Should America become such a people, avoiding the degradation that suspicion and hatred engender we would have a host of imitators. It is our misfortune if not our fault that we no longer hold the high position our fathers held of leading democratic movements. Our sympathies have overridden our reason. Only clear thinking can restore the lost. Fair dealing must replace the growing partiality that recent events have promoted.

The war spirit is an instilled attitude due to the wrong education and not to the natural emotions men inherit. Recent evolution has changed all else but has not yet brought our national ideals in harmony with new conditions. In public affairs we have yet a class rule even in the nations where democracy is nominally supreme. Until the middle and lower classes question the supremacy of the upper class our government will not be a model for world imitation. There is degeneration above to offset the uplift below. When this anomaly is removed peace, good will and coöperation will displace international entanglements.

Our ancestors were aggressive, but it was the aggression of a spontaneous vitality. No outlets for energy were available but in the crude conflicts that revealed personal superiority. Today intense activity has a dozen outlets all superior to that of war.

Achievement, wealth, science and social service drain off the energies and furnish the satisfaction that in cruder ages only combat gave. The effect of war on survival has also changed. Personal strife left the best and removed the incompetent. Gunpowder changed this survival value of war. The personal combat which the sword favored is displaced by long range fighting in which size and vigor are penalized. Corresponding to this change in evolutionary values is a change of motive. Our forebears fought because they loved fighting. They glorified in aggression. Today nations war not for a love of fighting, but for fear of invasion. It is interesting that every nation in the present war regards itself on the defensive. The appeal is to fear and not to glory. Our wars are not therefore a mark of super energy but of the growth of fear motives. And what is fear but degeneration?

This thought leads to the essence of our situation from a physiological viewpoint. We are all familiar with the action of toxins on our system, but we are less familiar with the blood content that increases vigor and thus makes us aggressive and dynamic. As our vitality increases we go out of ourselves in bolder ways and meet our fellows either in coöperation or conflict. Toxins in the blood destroy this aggressive hopefulness, replacing it with depression and fear. When the motive for war becomes fear instead of joyful aggression we may be sure its source is not with an element of normal human nature but with a species of degeneration that affects particular groups. Fear is a class phenomenon, which is transformed into a national attitude by the control which class has over public opinion. Good vigorous blood flowing in the veins of everyone might bring industrial evils through the personal aggression it excites but it would remove the degenerative fears that now overpower our upper class. We can thus cure war even if we cannot remove personal aggression. The one rests on a physical depression which may be avoided while the other has its seat in an imperfectly developed human nature. Heredity has its faults some of which it will be difficult to cure. But the insanity of war is not one of them.

The main thought of this paper is to make clear the difference between two plans to secure world peace: *Peace through force and peace without force*. Peace through victory must of necessity be an enforced peace. The vanquished must be ruled at our expense.

Peace without force means a yielding of the strong, not the submission of the weak. Wrongs must be righted before enforcing claims even though these claims be just. Can we yield to a nation in the wrong and yet promote world justice? This is the test of a peace without victory, of a world not coerced by force. It is not the insistence on our rights but on our neighbors' wrongs that makes for world betterment. Nations are often unruly, emotional and stubborn, but they need forgiveness more than punishment. In local affairs we may let the majority dictate, but liberty should be our guide in world decisions. Toleration is more moral than right, more luminous than truth, a sounder principle than justice and more divine than retribution. Without it no democracy can exist. Its basis is a peace that endures because it is loved. Battleships and machine guns cannot do what simpler forces do through the radiating influence of comradeship and good will.

PAX AMERICANA

BY GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, LL.D.,

President of the American Peace Society.

The League to Enforce Peace has sprung full-armed from the brain of Woodrow Wilson. While the immediate occasion of our entry into the world war is "the reckless and lawless submarine warfare" which the German government has been waging against American commerce and the lives of our citizens, its purpose is declared by the President to be

to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

And again, in the same noble utterance from which this declaration is taken, he says:

We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.